632 and the kapitan lives in Roworeke.
103 B Roworeke means: rowo is a bandjir river, dry in the dry season, and one can see this plainly; reke, a kind of red fruit. Watu Roga means a kind of soft stone. The scribe who will become
115 my assistant is a mild looking little fellow, of the suku Ambu Odja, and of the kampong Roworeke. He is married, however, into the kampong Watu Roga. His name is Adrianus Migo, and he is a Catholic. In the kapitanschap Rewarangga there
632 are eighteen kampongs (the kapitanschap Gunung
622 Rodja has fifteen kampongs). In each there is
614 a kepala kampong. There are also six main suku in the kapitanschap: Rewarangga, Wanda, Ambu Odja, Rea Ndona, Tibo (or Gusa), and Ambu Tara. There are members of other suku in the kapitanschap, but they are not old inhabitants. They
[171] have moved in (like the "newcomer non-dati" fams of the Ambon negri). The kapitan of Rewarangga were formerly of suku Rewarangga, but after three of these in succession the kapitan passed into suku Ambu Odja, and there have been four of these. Thus about seven generations are accounted
● [173] for, or about two hundred years, but the man says that Roworeke is at least four hundred to five hundred years old. This may indicate that the kapitan organization came in only about two hundred years ago. It is not at all certain and I must ask further questions about this kapitan business.

632 The kapitan must be chosen from any of the
565 noble families of any of the five suku. In each
614 suku there are two families which are noble and therefore may become kapitan. Generally the son of a dead kapitan is chosen, but if he is not satisfactory they may choose a kapitan from another noble family of the same suku or from any of the noble lineages of any of the other four
632 sukus. The big reason that the Rewerangga suku
614 lost the kapitanschap was that it had become al-

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000 the loss of time in such slow questioning.

632 578 634 614 624 There has been much fighting in the past over the election of a kapitan. In the case of a deadlock the radjas have stepped in and settled it, but this is dangerous because sometimes the people have refused to accept such an imposed choice. Again I see the troubles and feuds around here. The rivalry seems to be between suku. For example, they said that Reandona suku has always been trying to get into the kapitan position, but has never succeeded. I wonder if perhaps the mosa laki were not once actually suku chiefs. I asked the old giri tumba about this and he agreed but probably didn't understand me. And yet there seems to be a connection. Before the Dutch came, they say that the mosa laki mere was the kapitan and the giri tumba the kepala kampong of Roworeke. Thus the mosa laki mere was the top man and the giri tumba was the kampong chief. As for the other two (ndeto au and sike sani) they said that there were these offices too in the old days.

[178]

773 ●173 614 Then I tried to get onto the subject of the old origin legends in Roworeke. They said that long ago before the Dutch came the mosa laki mere here was of the suku Rewarangga; the giri tumba was of the suku Odja; the ndeto au was of the suku Nggonggora'ba, and they did not know the suku of the sike sani. This mention of Nggonggora'ba led me to ask about the whole business.

The kapitan started the story. In the beginning there were five siblings who came from Java, four brothers and one sister. The four brothers were Rewarangga, Reandona, Nggonggora'ba, and Gasiradja. The sister was Djedjedjo. The last went to Nggobe. Gasiradja went to a mountain kampong in the gemeente of Nggobe. The kampong was named Woroapo. Rewarangga settled in Roworeke, and he was the eldest brother and the most powerful of the siblings. Reandona took over authority in

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773 Manunggo'o (where this suku still remains the
● 173 principal suku). Nggonggora'ba took over
614 authority in Worowai, and there are still members of this suku there. Then the Odja suku entered the area from Rabu (at present three kampongs; 9, 10, 11 in the above list on page 29). Then the Tibo suku entered from Koavena and settled on the hill Wolowaru above Roworeke. This was later abandoned, and they came down and settled in the sections of Roworeke called Aibou and Kopoëdo. Thus at that time there were five main suku (maybe only these five) in the area: Rewarangga in Roworeke; Reandona in Manunggo'o; Nggonggora'ba in Worowai; and the two new suku, Odja in Roworeke and Tibo in Wolowaru. The posts
[624] held by these suku were:

1. Rewarangga: Mosa laki mere of Roworeke.
2. Reandona: Mosa laki mere of Manunggo'o.
3. Nggonggora'ba: Mosa laki mere of Worowai.
4. Odja: Giri tumba of Roworeke.
5. Tibo: Ata nggaeh nua of Roworeke.

The other officers were also present, but it is unclear as to what suku they came from.

632 It can be seen that the kapitan descended
624 from the mosa laki mere of Roworeke, and this is
614 in the suku Rewarangga (probably when the kapitanschap was created, Roworeke was made the capital and the mosa laki mere of it was made the kapitan of the new district). Later on, when Rewarangga nearly died out, Odja, the suku of the old giri tumba of Roworeke, took over the kapitan position. The giri tumba is still from Odja. The Reandona suku, descended from the second of the four brothers, is one of the eligible. What has happened, however, to the Nggonggora'ba suku seems to be a kind of eclipse. I must look into this later in Worowai.

609 We
423 are welcome here. There is not enough land for the people.

632 The whole gemeente here (consisting of eight
178 kampongs) is full of legendary and cosmogonical significance. There were seven ancestors who
443 started it, for example. There is a pasar at
437 Okka simpang which is held once a week. Most
462 of the people who go to this market are women
436 who carry on trade by means of barter. There is almost no money here. I asked what they
[273] could sell, and the only thing they mentioned was arak [wine]. We had some of this and it is not bad.

871 Some people here see no sense in school;
185 others like it very much. There is talk of a lot of people getting together in a "cooperatie" and contributing to the education of a few promising boys in Larantuka.

546 There are no movies here.

The guru said that there has been almost no
178 technological change here in the last fifty years. Everything is the same as it was before.
[407] There is only one plow in the whole area.

665 There are no political parties, and the people here do not even know the name of Sukawati. In Wailolong kampong only the guru and the kepala kampong know of him.

565 There are definitely classes here, including
624 families from the "big house" whose men are
614 eligible for various offices. Then there are the masses, the ata ribu. And then there are the descendants of slaves, that is, the Nipatale sub-subsibs, and the Ama Rere subsib of war captive descendants.

789 There are ideas that the Larantuka radja has
[778] magical power, but we didn't get into the full story of this yet. I was struck by the statement that the magical power of the officers comes out of the holy stones. This is typically Indonesian. And now I remember that he said

443 night, was pitiful. There were six gambling
[525] tables in the pasar shed,[1] and that was all.
The Radja tried to get some dancers, but the
women had left for the kampong.

525 The priest, Mommersteeg, said that they all
gamble and that there is plenty of money used
here, although there are also many one sen
stakes. We went to bed in the terrible cold.

In the morning we went to Todabelu with Mom-
114 mersteeg to meet Arndt.[2] We had met the latter
on the day before along the road. We saw an
old bearded man with a rain cape and umbrella
on a horse and asked if he knew where Arndt
was. He said that he was Arndt and that he had
ridden seven and one-half hours from Magilewa
near the south coast where he had gone for
Christmas. His parish is not there but on the
road to Boawai, off to one side. He was a
notable figure on the horse. We talked with
him about Ngada.

Arndt[2] says that there are no tribal units
614 called isi as van Staveren says.[2] There are
● 173 merely clans called voi. Then, inside these
611 units are bhou, or subclans. The big ancestor
was Djawa, who had seven sons and seven daughters.
The seven sons drop out, but the seven daughters
became the ancestral mothers of seven of the
great voi of Ngada, one of which is Ngada, and
this is the name of the ancestress. There are
a lot of other voi here too, each with a female
ancestor. I asked who the seven daughters
married, and he said this is unclear, but evi-
dently there were men on earth when the seven
were born. Thus it looks like an immigration
and intermarriage with aborigines. The bhou
614 have ancestral fathers, and thus they have a
611 system where the clans look a bit matrilineal
583 and the subclans a bit matrilineal, but the
whole descent is patrilineal unless there is no
bride price paid, when ambil anak occurs. Also,

[1] [i.e., at the night market --Analyst]
[2] [See bibliography, cat. 113 --Analyst]

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000 only technical changes have occurred here.

592 I noted that as we were walking out of Weol, and I asked the priest how many families there were per house, he asked a man and the fellow said there were five in one of the big round houses nearby. Another man rebuked him and said no, there were only three in it. The priest said this is because the government has the law that only three families may live in a house, for health reasons. However, the folk secretly manage to have more. The first man was giving the folk away.

541 I forgot to say that at the whip fights (main
697 tjatjih)[1] there was a band of extra gay fellows who did a lot of the sideline chanting and chorusing. They had red and white banners and at one time when we were taking photographs they came dancing en masse and singing across the field like a slow moving army. At 5 P.M. they raised the banners, singing lustily, and marched off. I asked who they were, and the Radja said that they were the prisoners of the jail, who had been given the day free, and that they were now marching back to jail!

463 The assistant says that all or nearly all
462 men in Weol are farmers. Some, but very few,
231 have specialist skills, but even those farm too. Not one woman has any other job than that of helping in the fields and making mats or weaving in her spare time. Nearly every man has a few to many horses, and some have other animals.

354 A bad feature of the old houses is the smoke from the fire which coats everything with soot and makes for additional darkness, but on the good side is the warmth which comes with the smoke.

769 Theory on reading Coolhaas:[2] The Ngada nadu
778 which is for the male ancestors is a small
342 replica of the conical houses of Manggarai. The
173 small bhaga houses of the female houses are
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1 [See pp. 91-92, cat. 116 --Analyst]
2 [See bibliography, cat. 113 --Analyst]

769 778 342 193 614 rectangular. Now, Coolhaas[1] says that in Manggarai there are two native forms, and he gives the native terms. One is conical and the other rectangular, or perhaps a bit oval in shape. However, the latter is not related to the former. There are areas of the one and the other, and evidently some areas have both. Now, the conical ones seem older, and on any surmise because round houses are simply older in Indonesia. Note then, that Ngada legends say that Djawa had seven daughters who became the ancestral mothers of the seven main voi. And they married men of the land, aborigines, here. The men are the [174] ancestral fathers of the bhou. Could it be that the conical male ancestor houses reflect the patrilineal aboriginal culture and the population stratum which lived in round houses, and the rectangular bhaga represent the incoming, matrilineal population and culture? If so, this says much about the double descent of Ngada, the peculiar legend, and the strange double ancestor houses. Now I think I know why there are those amazing conical male ancestor posts in Ngada.

193 611 342 563 The legends of Minangkabau immigration may be foolish, and the priest says he thinks it is built up more recently, by the younger folk who hear a name of an ancestor who came in and it sounds like "Minangkabau." But the surface evidence looks as though Manggarai and Ngada are a mixture of aborigines and immigrants. And there are also many evidences of double descent. I remember now that the priests talk much of enclaves of "autochthonous" folk in East Manggarai and East Nageh. They say that the people in these places are neither Manggarai nor Nageh. The Nageh enclave is originally from Soa, says Mommersteeg. I wish I knew whether these enclaves were patrilineal. Anyway, I doubt that they were unmixed. This may be a pretty good theory and may explain the umbrella houses.

[1] [See bibliography, cat. 113 --Analyst]

565 632 624 622 of Meler, the main kepala kampong of the Ndung complex, lives in Meler. The dalu came in about 1870. They were put in by Bima, and the tuan tanah said that they were of Bima origin. (Does this mean that no native chiefs were made dalu? Evidently.)

622 624 592 There is no native term for the kepala kampong. The tuan tanah is the tu'a tenu. In each house there is a house chief, the tu'a mbaru. The latter word means house. He is chosen by the men of the house.

623 592 693 The kampong council, which must be called together for each case, includes the tuan tanah, the kepala kampong, and the tu'a mbaru of their own houses. If the case involves adat, the tuan tanah is the chairman. An example of this would be a case concerned with land. If the case is concerned with administration, for example, with theft, the kepala kampong acts as chairman. In all cases, however, all of the members of the council are present.

614 624 The clans are divided into subclans called panga. Each of these has a chief, the tu'a panga. In Weol there are three panga and three tu'a panga. Two of these are also the tuan tanah and the kepala kampong. There are two panga and two tu'a panga in Ndung. The tuan tanah there is also tu'a panga of his panga and tu'a mbaru of his house.

614 173 I asked about the origin of the panga. The original ancestors, Vako Dangka and Ine Karas, had two sons: Lando Kakor and Naloholles. They married wives of another va'u and between them had seven sons (their daughters were forgotten, a reversal of the Ngada story, where the daughters of Djawa are remembered and the sons forgotten). Each of these became an ancestor of a panga, and in the course of time their descendants split into many more panga. New panga may be formed at any time, even now, as the old ones

614 We get larger and split. Thus there are many panga
173 in the va'u Weol (are they grouped under the original seven sons?).

614 The three panga of Weol kampong are: Lambar
621 (the tuan tanah is chief of this), Rinteng (the
592 kepala kampong is chief of this), and Rundu. It happens that there are two houses in each of the three panga in Weol, making six houses in all. Thus each tu'a panga has two houses under
342 him. The houses of the tuan tanah and the
178 kepala kampong are built in the new style, as are two of the others. There are then two old round houses, one with old non-wood walls. Most of the present round houses have wood walls and are built with nails. The roof does not reach the floor as in the real old time houses. The new style houses are all the same pattern, which was introduced by a certain priest. This is the only new style they know, and all new ones are exactly the same.

592 Often the whole panga will live in one house.
621 Ndung, which originally was linked with Weol, is
614 now a separate kampong and is even located in
624 another gelarang. The border is the mound above the small house area of Weol. They are
[778] continuous, but each has its own sacred tree. The kepala kampong of not only Ndung and Meler, but of the other four kampongs in the gelarang as well, lives in Meler. Thus there is only one kepala kampong for all the six kampongs. But each kampong must have a tuan tanah. The tuan tanah besar, however, lives in Ndung, just as the tuan tanah besar of Weol gelarang lives in Weol (this is our host). The big kepala kampong and the big tuan tanah of each gelarang has the rank of gelarang. In the gelarang Weol there are three kepala kampongs only, for the seven kampongs. Thus the Weol kepala kampong is also kepala kampong of Tjantjar.

614 The Ndung folk are all of the va'u Weol and
784 have a taboo on lusa.

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632 8. Nangapanda (km. 28 on the way to Badjawa).
9. Tana Djea (km. 31 on the way to Badjawa).

632 Thus Rewarangga is the easternmost of the ge-
173 meenten, on the border with Lio. It is half surrounded by Nggobe. I asked about the ancestor stories which make Rodja and Nggobe the first and greatest gemeenten. The kapitan said that this was because of the manner in which Suchtelen got his stories. The people who gave him his information were nearly all illiterate townsfolk. I retold the story of the five sib-
[186] lings from Java. He agreed that every area had its own version in order to make themselves appear greatest.

632 He said he got along all right with the Mohammedans and that the former Christian Rukuramba kapitan was merely inefficient. Arriens said so too, and that the present Mohammedan kapitan there is the best of all.

614 Then I checked the place of origin of the
361 suku in the census and got the following information. Odja came from Rabu (Rewarangga). Meo came from Ndetuko'u (Nggobe). Djawa came from Rabu (Rewarangga). Ndoru came from Ndungga (Lio). Reandona came from Woropau (Nggobe). Wanda came from Waturoga (Lio). Tibo (Gusa) came from Koavena (Rewarangga). Ndosi came from Wolotole (Lio). Rewarangga came from Worowai (Rewarangga).

Note: This suku (Rewarangga), the real old one of this region, originally lived in an even higher kampong, Wawotonda. It was located two kilometers above here on the road into the hills. Worowai is only a half to one kilometer above the road. A few people live in the Wawotonda area, but it is no longer a kampong. It is in the territory of the kampong Worowai. In Wawo-
[778] tonda there are stones and cannon. But the
[346] ruma berhala of Rewarangga suku (a bone house like that of Odja here) is in Worowai now.

[See bibliography, cat. 113--Analyst]

778 notable little stone with lots of agricultural
789 power. The objects which are possessed by the
614 suku and ama have no magic power; they are
823 only a form of wealth.

The eight kampongs of the Mudakaputu ge-
621 meente are:
832

1. Leloba
2. Wailolong
3. Lewohala
4. Lewoneda
5. Mudakaputu
6. Watuwiti
7. Riang Kamië
8. Riang Kanali

237 Economic note: The tusks are like the stone
583 money of Yap. They are the basis for the local
436 economy, but have little intrinsic value. The
452 non-existent tusks of Larantuka are even better,
and the folklore concerning them is fantastic.
They are reckoned with and theoretically ex-
changed when they don't even exist. They keep
the marriage system going. They are parallel
to pure paper credit--something like interna-
tional balances.

621 The first six kampongs are the old time kam-
173 pongs. They were founded by the five sons of
Lenurat or their descendants, who came out of
Ili Mandiri. Thus the situation runs something
like this:

Sons: (1) Belawaburak founded Leloba. (2)
Keweluk founded Wailolong. (3) Kewaka founded
Lewohala and Lewoneda. (4) Bampowa founded
Mudakaputu. (5) Mado founded Watuwiti.

Daughters: (6) Emma married a man of Tand-
jung Bunga (and the folk there call the people
of the Blakang Gunung region "blake," i.e.,
mother's brother). (7) Hingi married a man of
Adonara (perhaps the people there would also

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621 call the people from the Blakang Gunung region
173 "blake").

Lewoneda is now mixed, as people came in later from Sina Djawa. Riang Kanali is a branch of Lewohala. Riang Kamië is very mixed. It includes people of the original (that is, Lenurat descended suku) and others. However, it was evidently founded by people from Kroko Putang, the island which disappeared, and whose refugees are all over Larantuka. For example, this is true of the radja kedua here. These folk are called Tenemau (meaning "sailed here in a prau"). Riang Kamië is the largest of all the kampongs. Formerly there was plenty of war between it and Leloba.

578 Lewowitin is the term for a traditional
721 enemy kampong. Formerly heads were exchanged
346 for the korke. These heads were not buried but hung in the korke (like animal jaws today? I also thought as I saw a pig killed, how easy it would be to imagine a human sacrifice instead).

614 In Riang Kamië there are many suku. The as-
621 sistant cannot list all of them, but he remembers
173 Kottang, Marang, Molang 1, Molang 2, Belowen,
829 Lowalia, Lolamaki, Keleng, etc. There is no Hurint.

He says there are four kinds of people here, according to their origin:

1. Padji. They were here in plenty before, but they were all driven out by the Lenurat people, who are here called the Ili Djadi (Ili means emerged), the second group. The Padji were driven to Tandjung Bunda where they are still numerous, and also to the islands, for example to Adonara. They were evidently the aborigines, but he says there was no physical difference, even in the legends.

2. Demon or Ili Djadi. They drove the Padji out after emerging from the mountains, or rather after their father's emergence. The Demon or

The Demon or
War
614 Ili Djadi are the original people here because
●173 the Padji are gone. They also are found else-
621 where, and where they and the Padji are found
829 together, as in Adonara, they still fight.
[578] The constant murders there are partly caused by this endless feud. They never live in the same kampong together.

3. Sina Djawa. These are descendants of people who came from the west. There are suku here which came from there. Thus the suku Lewonuhah (kampong, island) of Leloba is of Sina Djawa. So is the suku Lewato of Wailolong.

4. Tenemau. These people came from the submerged island Kroko Putang. There are suku here from these people. Thus, Lewarita suku
[769] of Wailolong is Tenemau. In the ceremony this morning the genealogy used to call the ancestors went back to the Tenemau. He says you can tell at once the origin of any suku by listening to the genealogies recited at the rites, because the ancestors are called.

582 Then we got onto the inter-kampong marriage
124 system, and this is not so complicated as the intra-kampong marriage system. I jokingly said that perhaps he got so tired figuring out the internal system that he decided to make the extra kampong rules simpler. He was amused. He also seemed amazed at the building-up process of anthropological research which I use; for example, when I first asked the names of the eight kampongs and then went right on to ask the names of the sons of Lenurat, he saw that
[791] I was getting directly at the system. He said that if the folk here heard me leading straight into the heart of the complete cosmogony they would think me a suwanggi. I also said jokingly that they couldn't call me a pontianak. He was also delighted with my admiration of how every-
124 thing here falls into a system. He has learned the word "sistim" and uses it all the time. He

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582 in other areas, or working in the gardens lo-
476 cated in another kampong. Here again, it is a
602 matter of marriage. Indeed, only if marriage
621 gives a person some sort of privilege to work in the other kampong does one usually engage himself in such work.

632 Relations between districts have not changed
582 much in recent years. If there are marriages
602 between the districts involved, the same situation obtains as between the kampongs just described. Similar situations are those involving different tribes. Bonds are formed if there are marriage links; if there are no such
[438] links there are no bonds. Trade is so small a factor that it is unimportant in intercommunity relations.

186 The people here love their own kampong and
621 feel that they are lost when they are outside.
166 Figuratively and literally, they have no place in another kampong. They can see good in another kampong, however, and if they go elsewhere and return they tell about the good things there and may even adopt them themselves. Only the young people, and few of them, want to get out and see other places. Once they are married they never leave.

609 They say that if they leave their own kampong for another they become outsiders. They are then nipatale (beyond the fence). The other term used in suku terminology for outsiders is rere. It means "low." The opposite term, which also occurs among the suku, is belolong ("high").

578 All seven kampongs have been enemies of Riang
621 Kamië. The seven have remained about the same
614 in relationship to each other, but tales tell a
●173 bit about the ranking among them. Riang Kamië was formed by a union of several kampongs which were separate formerly. These united into one kampong in defense against the Bai Pitu (seven

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378 children). There are no Ili Djadi descendants
621 in Riang Kamië at all. The folk are mostly
614 descendants of Kroko Putang, although there are
173 some from Sina Djawa. Among the kampongs which
united to form Riang Kamië were Lamalewa, Beluwela, and Lamaliang. There are now fifteen suku in Riang Kamië. The old kampongs are still used for the sections (as is so often the case in Indonesia).

[211] The Kroko Putang origin (Tenemau) is symbolized by the wooden prau model in the korke of Riang Kamië.

621 The Sina Djawa folk were liked by the Ili
614 Djadi people, however, because when they entered
173 they brought iron, flint and steel and other
177 "high" things. Many suku were taken into the
773 kampongs from the Sina Djawa. They brought with them good weapons. Riang Kamië is the largest kampong here. Its population is about
[161] one thousand three hundred (Wailolong and Leloba have about seven hundred each). There is a lot of material on the legendary relationships between the ancestors as seen now in the kampongs. Thus, the two original Ili Djadi were a brother and sister, covered with hair. They came out of the mountain and a Padji girl on the shore saw a fire on the mountain. They were then discovered, and the Padji girl, Hadumboleng (a different person from the Ama Hadumboleng in the suku list), married Lenurat. Thus the Ili Djadi are Padji on the mother's side. The girl, however, sister of Lenurat, married a Timor man, Pategolo. The Radja of Larantuka is descended from the latter union. Thus Timor is involved in the male origin and Ili Djadi in the female origin. Also, the kampongs which are descended from the Pategolo-Watuwele (this was the name of Lenurat's sister) union are on the beach side of the mountain, and they are Waibalun, Balela, and Lokea. The last is the Radja's kampong.

609 belebang. It means "not known," in the sense of being a stranger. In the case of whites, etc., this is very clear. In dealing with other Indonesians, they know the people in their own kampong so well that they can spot a stranger immediately. They can spot this also because of his clothes and hairdo. Thus as we rode along today we were asked to stop by the guru. He said that there was a Tandjung Bunga man whom he had spotted. He was a tall pagan with a long bob and wearing red beads. He was fine looking. He could be identified as a Tandjung Bunga man even in the way he walked. And if he speaks, one can tell immediately. This is especially true here, where the phonetics are hard, even for the Larantuka folk. [194] The Radja has a hard time getting the sounds right. I asked whether the pastor was belebang, and they said that they were so used to him that he was not considered such. It is a matter of use and acceptance.

173 621 595 There is, of course, a long story connected with the cosmological meaning of the social organization. There seems to be a vague ranking according to the relative age of the brothers who founded the kampongs. Leloba was the oldest brother, Wailolong the second oldest, etc., and Watuwiti was the youngest. But this is not strictly the case. Nevertheless, if they have a great rite for the building of a new korke in a kampong when all kampongs gather and animals are cut, the head, feet, cutting and betel passing functions show something in regard to rank. He is uncertain as to the ranking and functions involved, but will try to find out more about this.

This led to a long story without much point to it except that it told about the negri lama and the migrations of the brothers outward. The story starts with the oldest negri lama,

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173 621 565 which was inhabited after the Lenurat days. This was Bluhur, near Watuwiti. The place is still there, and whenever a kampong has a new korke feast, they must go there too and sacrifice an animal. While the five brothers were still living in Bluhur, there was a war against the Padji aborigines in Adonara. The Demon folk there called on the Ili Djadi to help, and the five brothers went. The first brother, Belawaburak, was killed there in battle. The other four asked the Demon folk for an indemnity, and they paid this in gold (lots of it). This money was to replace the lost one. The four brothers were still together, and had only one korke. Nowadays no one lives there, but if a new korke feast is held, they must go there and sacrifice an animal. This was eighteen generations ago. Thus it was perhaps five to six hundred years ago, or perhaps a bit less.

Then came a war against the Padji, who lived all over the present territory around Ili Mandiri. They tried to drive them out. There was some fuss over a deceitful trick played by the Padji, in which the Ili folk gave their gold in good faith to the Padji, but the latter cheated. They decided they could stand these folk no longer, and so they went to war. Keweluk, the second brother, stayed in Bluhur, handling administrative things, and the other three brothers went to war. There were ten Padji kampongs. The Ili folk won, and killed one of the women at once, and brought the head back to Bluhur. But evidently, after some further grievances, they went to war against the Padji again. This time they captured the two main war leaders of the Padji, and afterwards, as usual, they killed one and brought the other back to Bluhur. This time, Bampowa had remained behind to do the administrative work. Instead of killing the

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173 war leader of Padji, they stripped the skin off his face and body and arms, and rubbed salt and pepper into his raw flesh, and then instructed him to go to all the ten Padji kampongs in turn and destroy their korke one by one. Under a magic spell, he did as he was told, and as he knocked over the last korke, he fell dead. The Padji, afraid of the magic power of the Ili folk, decided to sail away. Some were still left, however. I think these were on the beach on the way to Larantuka town. Then the four brothers set fire to the grass and bamboo thickets, and the latter burst with loud booms all the way from Larantuka to Konga. (Perhaps this is a rationalization for the agricultural burning off of fields which has evidently denuded the area here. Although I thought perhaps they might have thought that the Padji hunters would have lost their hunting lands by this kind of burning off of the forest cover and this would be why they would have to get out, they said that the Padji were already good agricultural folk and in fact that the Ili people had first learned agricultural techniques from the Padji. Hence this theory looks bad.)

Anyway, the last remaining Padji, scared stiff, went off. There are no Padji left here. Then a fight started between the second and third brothers, Keweluk and Kewaka. (The "enemy-brother" theme.) The former wanted to marry the widow of the deceased eldest brother, Belawa-burak, but the latter became angry because he wanted her for himself. The latter won the fight and married the widow, Ninidadja. Keweluk ran off to a place near Wailolong (in Wailolong territory, but far away) named Lewokeda', and there founded a kampong. This was the start of [171] the bertjerebre, or separation (note the similarity with the watu mpoga'a, or stone of separation of the seven siblings ancestors of Toradja).

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173 tion, of the seven siblings ancestors of Toradja).
621 Then Bampowa went away and founded Mudakaputu
565 (after some previous moves); and Mado, the youngest brother, after a number of moves, went and founded Watuwiti. Kewaka, already in power in Tiwa, moved his kampong to Lewohala. Thus occurred the arrangement whereby Keweluk was the founder of Wailolong, Kewaka the founder of Lewohala (from which Lewoneda later branched off), Bampowa was the founder of Mudakaputu, and Mado the founder of Watuwiti. I am not clear as to how Belawaburak is linked with Leloba, but evidently his descendants went there and founded it.

Somewhere in all of this material is a kind of local glorification for all of the kampongs and perhaps a kind of ranking. The latter, however, is very unclear and it would seem that the fame of the brothers and their "functions" in the legend were something like this:

Belawaburak was a war hero and his death brought a great store of gold to the Bai Pitu.

Keweluk was a war leader, and at one phase was an administrative leader too. The latter was during the second Padji war.

Kewaka was a war leader and also won the fight with Keweluk. He also married the widow of Belawaburak.

Bampowa was first a war leader, but stayed home in the last Padji war and did administrative work. This gave him a real privileged hold on administration, and his kampong, Mudakaputu, was for a long time the holder of the kakang post here. Recently other kampongs have had the post. Today Leloba has it.

Mado, founder of Watuwiti, seems to have the least claim to fame, and he was the youngest brother. Something is said, however, about how
[789] Watuwiti folk are famous for making "medicine" which can make men mad, or rather silly. This

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173 621 565 789 can be used in war, as magic, and thus perhaps Mado was the war sorcerer who perhaps did the magic stuff which in the last analysis scared the damned Padji away. This kind of medicine is called breni.

173 I asked if all the children and other people here know this story, and he said yes. It is evidently the main legend. He said that they do not know it perfectly, but the main facts and events are clear and everyone knows the story.

443 There is a market place at Okka crossroads every Wednesday. There used to be another on the beach on the way to Larantuka (where the Padji once lived) at Delang, but it is no longer there. It was held on Friday. There is a market place in Larantuka town, and the market is held there every day. However, there is no market week system. He knows of one in Adonara. He says it is no use to hold elaborate markets because they have no surpluses to sell.

583 614 The only exchange here is that connected with marriage. The woman-giving suku gives fish to the woman-receiving suku, and the latter gives fowl to the former. If these suku are in different kampongs, there is the exchange, but it is a matter of suku and not kampongs. And again it shows how marriage is the basis of the whole organization.

829 [178] As a result of the last World War the horizons in terms of the world at large were somewhat extended. For the first time, the people here heard of Japan, the United States and other countries. This was much the same thing that took place all over Indonesia. Fifty years ago no one here knew about such countries. As for other places in Indonesia, all they knew fifty years ago was Sina Djawa, to the west. Since the war they have learned at least the names of a few other islands. This is really epochal on

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614 tions. He put down just about everyone as
565 bangsawan, with the only exception being the
624 slave descendants and the absolute newcomers to the kampong. That is, everyone with suku membership who had a land privilege was included in the category "nobles." This means that there is no nobility properly speaking. Thus the mosa laki offices are really only the eldest branch of the eldest branch, etc., of a lineage.

565 This reminds me that when I asked whether
624 the kapitan of Nggobe (whose ancestor Ambu
634 Nggobe of the legends and who was the first
789 tuan tanah here) might not really be a bigger
173 man than the Radja, they said that he could well be that. Indeed, the tuan tanah of Nggobe is legendarily the biggest man here, according to the folk tales. And Rodja is big too. But then so is the Djawi descendant, the radja. Anyway, they are clear that the tuan tanah here are really the old ranks, and the radja is simply elevated to his present post only in recent history. This is probably why the radjas' hold is so weak here. They have no magic power and never were really higher than the tuan tanah. Thus the people here dare to rise against them at any time. What they fear is the government which stands behind the radjas, as well as a certain amount of respect and whatever the radjas have of ancestral claims according to the old adat scheme. When I mentioned the magic practices of Bone and the heaven-descent sanction of radja power in South Celebes, they seemed astonished. I am convinced. If there has developed any real royalty feeling here, it is rudimentary.

614 I asked whether perhaps there is a main man
624 of each suku. They said that the big man of Odja is the giri tumba, and of Rewarangga the mosa laki mere. In other kampongs and suku

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797 works, but I wonder if there might not be trouble if the central organization of the Catholic Church knew it. Still, perhaps the Catholics are indeed less doctrinaire than the Protestants. Surely the Jesuits are, with their different approach toward ends and means. There is a big contrast here with Ambon, surely.

788 Much of the former pagan ritual still survives. For example, there are field rites, beliefs, illness treatments, etc. The pagans still carry on plenty of the old ceremonies. Even the elaborate rites for planting, etc., continue.

241 782 796 The tuno wudjo is still an important figure in planting rites of Wailolong, but has disappeared in Leloba since Vatter's[1] day. The story is that she is a girl who was sacrificed in Lio by her seven brothers, to make the fields fertile. (They say that this is "to make the gardens fat.") Indeed, she told them to kill her in order to help. And the pieces of her body were sent to places all over Flores to make the fields fertile. The story is also found in Adonara.

Note: Lio is a great place for human sacrifice in relation to agriculture. The Radja of Lio not long ago was executed by the Dutch, and among his crimes was listed the killing of young girls for agricultural field rites. The people of Ende know this, and it seems generally known throughout Flores.

[614] [173] Note also: according to Vatter,[1] one of the suku in Tandjung Bunga is Lio, and they are supposed to be descended from people who came from there. I wonder if perhaps this myth is not a sign of former human sacrifice in relation to agriculture all over Flores (or at least for East Flores), and it may also have originated in Lio and thence spread to here. Anyway, the

[1] [See bibliography, Cat. 113 -- Analyst]

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567 178 565 slave descent and the removal of slave or slave-like services.

The kraeng of Todo and Pongkor, who were all over this area, were evidently the worst, because they were more numerous and more omnipresent. Bima was rather far off, and asked only peace and taxes, including slaves.

[578] 565 614 567 In regard to Todo and Pongkor, I got plenty of undercurrents of resentment here. Cornelius says the people here regard them as aliens (as indeed they are in this area, especially considering the localism of "nationalism" here).

●[173] And they themselves say that they are from Minangkabau via Makassar. I wonder if there is a tie-up with the Datu ri Bandar who brought Mohammedanism to Makassar from Minangkabau about three hundred years ago? I would like to see the treasure chest of the Pongkor kraeng, as perhaps I could decide whence their ancestors came. I then asked why all the people of the kampong were noted as gelarang. And here I ran into the same thing as in Ende. Indeed, all the members of certain clans are a kind of nobles, like Odja there. This goes for the va'u Veol. It also goes for the va'u Pau, to which the assistant belongs. I tried every way to plumb this matter, and first got this information about the kampongs:

565 567 621 614 (1) There are kampongs in which all the "locals" are of the gelarang class, for example, kampongs Veol and Ndung. But there may be included among these, descendants of slaves who were admitted into the va'u after long residence, or who now claim membership, and although no one gainsays this, all know that they were from lower depths before. Still, I wonder if possibly some of the many men from the outside va'u, who are especially common in Ndung and who are married to outside women too, may have been here a long time and may have been slaves before.